

Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 131359Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 INR-10 SP-02 AF-10 OES-09 ~~EE-01~~ NEA-07
SIS-01 /060 V

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O R 131026Z JUN 80
FM USICA LONDON
TO USINFO WASHDC IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE/NSC PRIORITY
USDOC WASHDC PRIORITY
TREASURY WASHDC PRIORITY
OSD WASHDC PRIORITY
CIA WASHDC PRIORITY
VIA MUNICH PRIORITY
3RD AIR FORCE HILDESHALL PRIORITY
USICA PARIS PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAININGEN GERMANY PRIORITY
USMWR SHAPE PRIORITY
USMISSION USDOC PARIS PRIORITY
USICA/USNATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC

UNCLAS

USINFO FOR PGM/RC - VOA/PE - PGM/PP. PASS EU. PASS PGM/FM.
PGM/RC FOR VOA AND PASS STATE FOR S/P AND INR.
OSD FOR ISA-ILM. JAMES FOR SOE. NIOENHALL FOR OI. PARIS FOR
PRESS ATTACHE. USCINCEUR FOR PAO. USICA USNATO BRUSSELS FOR
DEAN CLAUSSEN. AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS FOR SECSTATE ALSO PASS
EUR (GOODYEAR AND FUNSETTI) AND AF/S HARE. WHITE HOUSE/NSC FOR
BLACKVILL. BAR ES SALAAM FOR PAO'S OFFICE.

LONDON MIDWEEK REVIEW 5TH MARY TO FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1980.

FIRST ADD : X X X SHOULD STILL BE DONE QUIETLY.

THE OTHER WAY OF RAISING THE COST TO RUSSIA OF ANOTHER COLD
WINTER IN AFGHANISTAN IS BY SQUEEZING THE FOOD AND TECHNOLOGY
TRANSFERS ON WHICH THE SOVIET ECONOMY HAS COME TO DEPEND. LIKE
THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT, PRESIDENT CARTER'S TRADE SANCTIONS HAVE
NOT BEEN VERY EFFECTIVE SO FAR AND AMERICAN EXPORTERS HAVE
BORNE BY FAR THE LARGEST SHARE OF THE BURDEN. THE RUSSIANS
SEEM TO HAVE MADE UP MOST OF THEIR LOST AMERICAN GRAIN FROM
OTHER SOURCES; AND THE LOSS OF LONG-TERM INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS

WILL TAKE TIME TO HIT. THIS IS WHY A PARTIAL TRADE EMBARGO WILL
PERSUADE THE RUSSIANS TO CHANGE THEIR STRATEGY IN AFGHANISTAN
ONLY IF THEY FIRST BECOME CONVINCED THAT A QUICK WIN IS IMPOSSIBLE,
AND THAT SANCTIONS WILL BE AS PROLONGED AS THEIR OWN OCCUPATION
-- AND MAY SPREAD AS TIME GOES ON.

THE COSTS OF REMAINING IN AFGHANISTAN, AS THE RUSSIANS CALCULATE
THEM TODAY, ARE UNLIKELY TO LOOK INTOLERABLE. BUT IT IS IMPORTANT
THAT THEY SHOULD BE ABLE TO READ THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN.
THE WEST, IN COOPERATION WITH AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS, SHOULD
REAFFIRM ITS READINESS TO PROVIDE A FACE-SAVER IN THE FORM OF
SOME VERSION OF THE CARRINGTON NEUTRALITY PLAN, ENSHRINED IF
NECESSARY IN A FORMAL AUSTRIAN-TYPE TREATY. BUT IF THIS PLAN IS
TO BE FITTED IN WITH RECENT SOVIET-AFGHAN PROPOSALS, THE
RUSSIANS WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT (A) THAT NOBODY CAN DELIVER AN
END TO THE INSURGENCY, WHICH WILL COME ABOUT ONLY AS THE RESULT
OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT; AND (B) THAT SOVIET TROOPS WITHDRAWALS
WILL HAVE TO ACCOMPANY, NOT FOLLOW, AN ACTION TO STOP ARMS
AID OR RESTRICT GUERRILLA SANCTUARIES.

THE RUSSIANS AND THEIR CLIENTS ARE NOT THE ONLY PARTIES TO
THE AFGHAN DISPUTE UNREADY FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE
END OF LAST MONTH THE UMTEENTH QUEST FOR UNITY BY REBEL LEADERS
IN PESHAWAR CAME TO NOTHING. THE REBELS TOO NEED REMINDING THAT,
UNLESS THEY CAN PROVIDE A POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE, THEY WILL
LOSE THE WAR."

NOW MAGAZINE COLUMNIST AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS EXPERT
BRIAN CROZIER: "THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN HAS TAKEN AN IRRATIONAL
TWIST: THE SOVIET INVADERS ARE NOW UP AGAINST ONE OF THE
BEST SOVIET DEFENSIVE WEAPONS, THE SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE SAM-7.
LARGE NUMBERS OF SAM-7S HAVE REACHED THE MOSLEM RESISTANCE
FIGHTERS AND IT IS THOUGHT ONE OF THEM MAY HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE
FOR BRINGING DOWN A SOVIET HELICOPTER GUNSHIP THIS WEEK
AT SHAKARDARA, 18 MILES NORTH OF KABUL.

IN THIS CRUEL WAR, THE CRUELLEST WEAPON ON THE INVADING SIDE
HAS BEEN THE GUNSHIP, WHICH HOVERS OVER DEFENCELESS VILLAGES
AND BOMS DOWN ARMED OR UNARMED INHABITANTS. THE SAM-7 IS
PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE AGAINST SLOW-FLYING HELICOPTERS AND
PROPELLER-DRIVER PLANES.

IT IS PORTABLE, SHOULDER-LAUNCHED AND ACCURATE UP TO FIVE
MILES, OPERATING ON A HEAT-SEEKING PRINCIPLE. IT IS A RELATIVELY
SIMPLE WEAPON TO OPERATE AND NEEDS ONLY A FEW WEEKS' TRAINING.

WHERE DO THE SAM-7S COME FROM? UNTIL WATERGATE AND THE
ECLIPSE OF AMERICA'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, THE AUTOMATIC ANSWER
WOULD HAVE BEEN: THE CIA. NOW, THE CIA 'SCARES MOROBY EXCEPT
THE WASHINGTON POST AND THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, WE
HAVE TO LOOK ELSEWHERE.

MY OWN INVESTIGATIONS LEAD INESCAPABLY TO ANOTHER IRRATIONAL
TWIST: THE SAM-7S CAN COME ONLY FROM THE MORE EXTREME ARAB
GROUPS AND COUNTRIES WHICH ORIGINALLY RECEIVED THEM BY THE
THOUSAND FROM THE SOVIET UNION OR VARSAV PACT COUNTRIES,
NEARLY ALL OF WHICH MANUFACTURE THEM."

SANCTIONS AGAINST RUSSIA :

ECONOMIST ARTICLE: "WESTERN SANCTIONS COULD BITE HARDER ON
RUSSIA THAN ON IRAN BECAUSE AMERICA DEPENDS LESS ON ITS ALLIES
TO MAKE THEM BITE. OTHER COUNTRIES -- WITH BIG EXCEPTIONS LIKE
ARGENTINA -- HAVE PROMISED NOT TO SELL RUSSIA GOODS AMERICAN
COMPANIES HAVE BEEN FORBIDDEN TO EXPORT. THAT IS NOT WORTH
MUCH; BIG NEW CREDIT LINES FOR THE SOVIET UNION ARE BEING ARRANGED
IN EUROPE. BUT THE UNITED STATES IS SQUEEZING WHERE THE SOVIET
ECONOMY IS WEAKEST: HIGH TECHNOLOGY AND FOOD. SO SANCTIONS MAY
EVENTUALLY STING RUSSIA'S HARDSHIPED PLANNERS A LOT MORE THAN
NOW SEEMS APPARENT.... PRESIDENT CARTER HAS... TRIED TO WIDEN
THE LIST OF GOODS EXPORTED TO RUSSIA WHICH MUST FIRST BE CLEARED
BY COCOM, THE NATO GROUP (PLUS FRANCE AND JAPAN) WHICH WATCHES
SENSITIVE EXPORTS TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. IN MARCH,
AMERICA SENT COCOM A LONG, SECRET LIST OF PROPOSALS FOR TIGHTENING
TRADE RESTRICTIONS ON, EG, DATA PROCESSING TECHNOLOGY AND KNOWHOW
RELATED TO OIL AND GAS DEVELOPMENT.

AMERICA'S ALLIES -- ESPECIALLY WEST GERMANY -- WOULD NOT BE
HAPPY TO PUT ENERGY TECHNOLOGY ON A NEW COCOM LIST, SO IT WILL
TAKE SEVERAL MONTHS TO WORK OUT A COMMON POLICY. WEST GERMANY
HAS JUST SIGNED A 25-YEAR TRADE AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA WHICH
INCLUDES COOPERATION ON ENERGY EXPLORATION.
(MORE) USICA LONDON

EOT

DAN ZACHARY

10/3/83

UNCLASSIFIED